1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

imagination and opened a rich life for their military conquerors. The humble farming skill of the tribesmen of North America's eastern seaboard sustained religious exiles until they could live off the land and create their own type of commonwealth. The Indian and his culture were soon plowed under, but they enriched a soil which otherwise would never have produced the lavish harvest of Pan-American civilization.

The most violent clash between the Indians and the Europeans took place in the Valley of Mexico during the early summer of 1520, when Cortes and his Spaniards achieved the Conquest of Mexico and overthrew the Aztec civilization, the most advanced Indian culture at that time. Cortes' success was the loadstone which drew to the Americas the iron might of Europe. Stone could not withstand steel, and the days of the Indian were numbered. The history of the Aztecs and their forebears is a synopsis of the rise of Indian civilization and its doom.

The Aztecs were a populous group of independent Indian tribes who occupied a restricted section of central Mexico. Their history and social customs are better known than their neighbors' because their conquest had such a far-reaching significance for the European world. Spanish observers of military, priestly and civil status wrote careful accounts of the Aztec life and history, and Indian authors a generation later augmented these records, drawing on the tribal lore still only thinly veneered by Christianity. A few pictographic records, either prepared before the Conquest or copied afterward, are precious additions to the Aztec annals. However, our chief data on Indian history come from archaeology, that branch of research which recovers social his-

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court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[14] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chico-nauhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spacious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[15] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular form, since the division of the land among the clans usually followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

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that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burning and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs, referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (cuauhxicalli*) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.* (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

*kwow-shee-ca'lli.

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ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[12]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

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of pottery, and in the chapters in Indian history we have seen how every tribe, almost every village, had its own particular style, which changed gradually through slow shifts in the popular taste as time wore on. In the absence of written records the archaeologists fortunately have been able to rely on pottery styles to peg out in time and space the relationships of these ancient and forgotten tribes and thus lay a basis for New World history.[14]

The Aztecs, like all the other New World peoples, did not use the potter's wheel but built up their vessels with strips of clay, relying on their keen eye and sensitive fingers to achieve the desired shape. They did not use molds to form their vessels, as was occasionally done in late Teotihuacan times; nor, apparently, did they make use of the *kabal*, a block on which Yucatecan potters rested their vessels and which they turned with their feet in shaping the raw clay.

The Aztecs had an abundance of finely textured clay, orange after firing, from which they fashioned vessels for the storage and service of food. The potters of Culhuacan used this ware first, making plates with flat bottoms resting on cylindrical legs.[15] On the floors they painted curvilinear designs which were sometimes faintly naturalistic. In the second period, when the manufacture of this ware became popular all over the northern Valley, the vessels were made more coarsely, and the hollow legs degenerated to thick, elongated cones.[16] The decoration was converted into an abstract combination of curvilinear *motifs* that had the quality of European script writing. In contrast to the usual rectilinear quality of Middle American design, it may be more than a coincidence that the introduction of this style at the beginning of the fourteenth century was contemporaneous

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with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, perhaps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of concentrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

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emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes.[19] (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

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economic, social and religious stimulation of their sudden rise to power as a license to convert craftsmanship into great religious art.

The Aztecs did not create their art forms or their religion, which seems to have seeped in from the Mixteca-Puebla country. There the religious manuscripts and the ritualistic concepts hewn in stone and painted on vases were more complex and better drawn than their Aztec equivalents. Unfortunately, as yet, archaeological investigation has not extended to more than a sampling of this potentially rich area of Mexican civilization. However, the Valley people, given the opportunity, eagerly accepted these forms and created their own versions of the parent art.[14] (See Plates 57, top; 58, 59.)

The same elements portrayed in stone monuments appeared in smaller objects. Wooden drums and *atl-atls* had relief carvings the equal of the temple ornaments in all except scale. The same divinities were graven in bone against a background of turquoise mosaic. The goldworkers reproduced in miniature the images of the gods and goddesses and the symbols of their cult, carrying out in costume ornament the elements of the ritual in which they were used. Lapidaries succeeded in reducing jade, obsidian, rock crystal, opal, moonstone and amethyst into tiny sculptures which carry the same emotional authority as the grand-scale art. The bulk of first-rate material is enormous. It would seem that the products of tribal craftsmanship had been raised en masse into arts. Virtually overnight a cluster of primitive villages had transformed themselves into great creative centers.[15] (See Plates 45–48; 55, bottom left.)

Painting and drawing did not reflect this transmutation.

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sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute. In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history.[17] (See Plates 62–63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water.[18] (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns. The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

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much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people, promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

As if the confusion between a man and a god of many guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

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175 the shorter records have reached print, even if they survive in some library. These histories followed two main styles. One, exemplified in the Mapa Tlotzin and Codex Xolotl, sets forth events, the people or tribes involved and the places, each designated by its hieroglyph. Year names were appended to give the dates. These Texcocan records are highly complicated to follow, but fortunately some have glossaries appended after the Conquest.[23] (See Plates 25, top row; 63, middle right.)

The other style recorded the succession of the years, one after the other, for the whole time covered by the history. Events, like conquests or the death of chiefs, were appropriately drawn near the proper year sign and sometimes were connected by a line. This type of history seemed largely confined to Tenochtitlan. Since Tenochcan history is much more accurate after 1400 A.D. than before, one wonders whether the destruction of the books, ordered by Itzcoatl, did not really pave the way for a new style of writing.[23] (See Plates 62, top; 63.)

In addition to the histories and the sacred almanacs tribal records were kept. These are most useful to the modern student, for the names of the towns are inscribed in one column, while the rest of the page records the amount of gold, ornaments or cloth that was paid in as tribute. Since the geographical location of most of these towns is known, the chief products of each area can be determined. Other records showed lines of descent, lands occupied and other data essential to family economics.[24] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

212 'Fortunately, after the Conquest the Spaniards utilized the
177 native methods of writing as well as their own in civil records,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

212 177 such as tax rolls, lawsuits, and the like, so that the Indians could understand the Spanish legal code and present their complaints.[28] Friar Nicolas Tester even made an attempt to shift the picture writing over to syllabic writing—the effect of the Lord's Prayer in Aztec glyphs is startling.[29] This was too cumbersome a plan and was soon abandoned for the recording of Nahuatl words in Roman characters. However, it is due to this usage of Aztec pictographs that so much survives of the records, many of which, with their oral accompaniment, were copied into Roman characters both in Spanish and Nahuatl. From these we derive such knowledge as we have of Aztec history and customs. (See Plate 44.)

212 The drawback of picture writing is its rigidity and its uselessness for the expression of abstract ideas. The cyclical count created great confusion as to the particular cycle in which an event took place. Exact and careful drawing was essential for the glyphs, and a slurred line might result in a totally different reading. However, the worst feature of Aztec history is its provincialism, for the scribes saw things only in terms of the tribe and took no heed of internal events in other communities. The picture writings show how communal interests extended vertically, as it were, from the tribe to the pantheon. There is no reflection of a horizontal interest outward to the lives and occupations of other peoples. The attitude of the Aztec communities to foreign affairs merits a chapter in itself.

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themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec pictographic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

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opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gathered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[5]

This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[6]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[7]

The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[14]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-weaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the hand-waving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl:

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, ichoatl in qujmomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn xuchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaioalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id est, iaoiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, iteputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn taõli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh.

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuxtlaioc, oc cepa cenquixoa, oc no nematlaxo, ainc mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujoiquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quezqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço-

14. See Sahagún, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1208. Sahagún mentions (pp. 13), 132) a painted, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette (pertaining to the hat; a cinnamon-shaped nose piece; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Either these relate to the wars of Axayacatl among the Huaxtecs, or else "the Mexicans were [there to proclaim] themselves to be the servants, followers, labourers, of the old mother of the gods, Tetea innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from there."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[6]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[7][8]

2,010 bundles[7] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[8] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[8]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[8]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

[6] *RNE*, 10: 126. [7] Corrected from 2,000. [8] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 113, and *PNE*, 6: 188.